"Why should we care about what the 'ulamā' claim is authentic to Islam?" the maiden demanded. "How many of them are intersex? How many of them are trans? How many of them are women? How many of them were ever suicidal? They only seek dominion over this world, ignorant of the evil they commit."

"Only a prideful, arrogant fool would disregard the opinions of experts when it does not fit their preconceptions. Would you ignore the climatologists to listen to an oil baron's opinions about the environment?"

The maiden scoffed at this comparison.

"This is the truth of the matter," the spectre insisted. "Your light reading is nothing compared to the life's work of the 'ulamā'. Who are you compared to al-Bukhārī and Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj?"

"Ah, of course," the maiden shot back sarcastically. "How could we dare to question these great scholars who recorded and verified everything the Ṣaḥāba said with perfect photographic memories and decades of pious zeal towards their work, all while living in an uncorrupted time so soon after *The Prophet*."

"And yet," the maiden continued, "for some strange reason, they can't seem to figure out how long *The Prophet* stayed in Mecca and Madinah. Some of their *ḥadīth* state that *The Prophet* stayed in Mecca for thirteen years after receiving the revelation, and then lived in

Madinah for ten years until his death at sixty-three.<sup>1</sup> Some state that *The Prophet* stayed in Mecca for ten years and Madinah for ten years.<sup>2</sup> Some state that he stayed in Mecca for fifteen years and died at sixty-five,<sup>3</sup> and two acknowledge conflicting reports among the Ṣaḥāba.<sup>4</sup> For something as simple as that, the ḥadīth can't give a straightforward answer,<sup>5</sup> and yet you worship these scholars like intermediate gods."

"Enough hyperbole," the spectre snapped. "This is the purpose of consensus. It is not an act of worship to look at the broad consensus in a field to decide what is the truth. It is no different from scientific consensus."

"Scientific consensus," the maiden sneered. "You wouldn't know consensus if it hit you in the face."

"The reality is simple enough for even a stupid idiot like you to understand," the spectre stated matter-of-factly. "Just look at Paula Sanders' 1991 chapter, 'Gendering the Ungendered Body: Hermaphrodites in Medieval Islamic Law' from the book *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*. According to Sanders, the fact that Muslim societies were segregated by gender meant that jurists had to funnel these people into the male or female category, binding them to the gender binary. Would they enter the men's or women's sections of the *mosque*? Would they wear a veil? Would they mingle with men or women in public? What was their inheritance? Who could they marry? Who would prepare their body for the grave? The integrity of all these separate (but equal?) spaces in society was necessary for preventing *fitna*, hence why the majority of the 'ulamā' categorize these people as male or female in both the past and present."

"This is an outdated view that lacks nuance," the maiden replied. "First, what jurists want the world to be is not what the world really is. 10 A society cannot run if everyone is afraid of the

supposed *fitna* that will come if men and women were around each other. Billions of Muslims in the past and present interact with other genders without spontaneously combusting."

"The *fiqh* is the only thing that matters," the spectre interrupted.

"I was going to get to that," the maiden rebuked. "Even in the legal discourse, there is ambiguity. While Sanders argues that all legal scholars maintained the gender binary and upheld male privilege, 11 Indira Falk Gesink disagrees in her 2018 article, 'Intersex Bodies in Premodern Islamic Discourse: Complicating the Binary.' This is because they analyze different scholars. Sanders focuses on Al-Sarakhsī (d. 1090), Al-Qudūrī (d. 1036), Al-Marghīnānī (d. 1196), and Al-Tūsī (d. 1067), 12 but they represent a minority strand of legal reasoning. Gesink analyzes these eleventh and twelfth century jurists, along with several more from a broader time period, including Al-Ḥalabī (d. 1549), 'Alī Al-Ḥādī (d. 868), Abū Zakariyyā 'al-Nawawī (d. 1277), Ibn Qudāma (d. 1223), Al-Nu 'mān (d. 974), Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 767), Abū Yūsuf (d. 798), Al-Shaybānī (d. 805), Al-Thawrī (d. 778), Ibn Abī Laylī (d. 765), Al-Sha'bī (d. 722), and Al-Lu'lu'ī (d. 819), along with the lexicographer Al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad (d. 786). Gesink finds that the majority were flexible towards the categorization of khunthā and distinguished them as independent from male and female." 13

"There must be an error in Gesink's analysis," the spectre interrupted. "Their opinions cannot be so divergent."

"They are not completely divergent. Sanders and Gesink agree that jurists historically preferred establishing a dominant male or female aspect for *khunthās*. They used the orifice an intersex baby urinated from to determine which was dominant (along with similarly antiquated tests). When these tests could determine a dominant sex, these infants were classified as *khunthā gayr al-mushkil* (intersex people of unambiguous sex). When these tests failed, these

infants would be unsexed until signs of sexual maturity during puberty (*bulūgh*) determined their dominant sex through things like facial hair, nocturnal emissions, breasts, menstruation, lactation, methods of intercourse, and conception. *Khunthā* also had the autonomy to report signs of sexual maturity on the basis that the privacy of one's *'awrah* meant that jurists/doctors (generally) couldn't verify what was reported. The none of the signs of sexual maturity appeared by the time they became adults, these *khunthā* were categorized as *khunthā mushkil* (ambiguously intersex people/complex sex). The sexual maturity appeared sexual maturity appeared to the signs of sexual maturity

"Then you are the one misinterpreting things," the spectre added. "Flexibility exists only until ambiguity can be resolved."

"Nope," the maiden replied. "Sanders and Gesink differ on that. According to Sanders, once a jurist made a male, female, or *mushkil* categorization, it was immutable, even if a person's puberty produced signs of sexual maturity defying this categorization. Someone categorized as male due to a urine test or a report of nocturnal emissions would remain so even if they later developed breasts. Once categorized into male or female, contradicting organs were considered 'defects' ('ayb) and excised to make the intersex person fully male or female. <sup>19</sup> Likewise, a *khunthā mushkil* could not report a sign of puberty after they were categorized as such." <sup>20</sup>

"But for the jurists Gesink analyzed, prepubescent categorization was provisional, so a *khunthā* could change sex if they reported a sign of sexual maturity that defied a previous urination test.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, *khunthā gayr al-mushkil* were still understood as *khunthā*, so their dominant sex did not negate the other."<sup>22</sup>

"That does not make any sense," the spectre interrupted. "The unambiguous dominant sex does not negate the other? That just sounds like *bid* 'a invented by Gesink to retroactively project their Western ideology into the past."

"Gesink supports this with *Al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad's* lexicography in his *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*," the maiden protested. "His lexicography states that one should say 'ya khunathu,' when hailing a 'legally male' person, 'ya khanathi' for a 'legally female' person, and 'an effeminate male should be hailed as ya khunathatu or ya khunaythatu.' These recommendations suggest that eight century Arab society was not interested in rigidly policing the gender spectrum to satisfy some pointless desire for control.<sup>23</sup> Gesink also supports this with the medical discourse of physicians like *Ibn Sīnā* (d. 1037), *Al-Zahrāwī* (d. 1013), and *Şerifeddin Sabuncuoğlu* (d. 1468), for whom quality of life overrode (though inconsistently) the desire to remove ambiguity around sex."<sup>24</sup>

The spectre scoffed at this notion, grumbling about the audacity of people who think they can overturn centuries of precedence by reading one article. But the maiden kept going.

"Additionally, Sanders and Gesink differ on the nature of *khunthā mushkil*. They both agree that *khunthā mushkil* could be socialized by occupying an intermediary position or socialized according to other rules which favour one gender. For example, some jurists placed *khunthā mushkil* in between the male and female spaces of the mosque, <sup>25</sup> and some jurists favoured the female clothing regulations for the sacred state (*iḥrām*) when a *khunthā* is making the *ḥajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca). <sup>26</sup> But they frame it differently. Sanders argues that these regulations prioritize the maintenance of the social hierarchy privileging men as superior to everyone else. <sup>27</sup> Gesink argues that these regulations prioritize the most religiously cautious requirement, resulting in *khunthā mushkil* functioning as a third gender that situationally changes its gendered/intermediary expression. <sup>28</sup> If one favours Gesink, then it seems most jurists and physicians did not override an individual's bodily autonomy to prioritize the gender binary."

"And what if one favours Sanders?" the spectre queried.

"Then you have prioritized the minority strand of legal reasoning," the maiden replied.

"Maybe the minority strand is the strand God approved," the spectre rebutted. "So many of these scholars you bring up come from the later centuries of Islam, when all kinds of *bid'a* have infected the Muslim world. Perhaps their opinions were removed by God to purify the faith."

"Did God do this?" the maiden asked sarcastically. "Or was it colonialism? Gesink explains how legal discourse changed in modern history. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, <code>Ḥanafī</code> jurists like the Palestinian mufti <code>Khayr Al-Dīn Al-Ramlī</code> (d. 1671) started favouring the gender binary, possibly influenced by earlier polemics. In 1506, the Amir Tarabey of Cairo prosecuted the <code>Ṣūfī</code> Muhammad Ibn Salama, scrutinizing the <code>khunthā</code> status of Salama's wife until the court determined the wife to be a boy. Tarabey's execution of Salama riled up the homophobic public against <code>Ṣūfīs</code>."<sup>29</sup>

"That just sounds like the application of *figh*," the spectre added.

"What that sounds like is a precursor to the 'anal examinations' in Iraq and Egypt.

Regardless, jurists continued to recognize the mutability of gender for *khunthā*, but by the twentieth century, British and French attitudes towards hermaphrodites and homosexuals influenced modernist intellectuals and reformers in the Islamic world, such as *Buṭrus al-Bustānī* (d. 1883), *Rifā 'a al-Ṭahṭāwī* (d. 1873), *Jurjī Zaydān* (d. 1914), and *Aḥmad Amīn* (d. 1954). This caused twentieth century legal discussions to assume the gender binary, prioritizing the minority opinion of previous centuries."

"What do you mean, 'influenced?' Muslims do not reference Section 377 of the British Colonial Penal Code.<sup>31</sup> They reference the *Qur'ān* and *ḥādīth*. Whatever influence the British asserted did not drive Muslims away from the *Sunnah*."

"Your understanding of colonialism is too simple," the maiden said. "Colonization is not

simply replacing Indigenous cultures with imperial ones. It is also about hijacking and shaping Indigenous cultures to align them with imperial ones. Just look at the Soviet policy of *korenizatsiia* (indigenization)."

"The Soviets?" the spectre spat. "What do the Soviets have to do with *fiqh* on intersex people?"

"Just listen," the maiden exclaimed. "Soviet leaders like Lenin and Stalin once believed in providing national autonomy across the Soviet Union. They created resolutions in April and June of 1923 which entrenched representation for the titular nationalities of the Soviet republics and their subnational units.<sup>32</sup> The state apparatus adopted their languages; national elites were promoted in the Communist party, government, and industry; and symbols of national identity like museums, dress, food, and artistic productions were promoted."<sup>33</sup>

The spectre completely checked out of this history lesson, but the maiden continued.

"This never became anything more than imperial control over identity. In Soviet Ukraine for example, the historiography of non-Marxist Ukrainian historians such as *Mykhailo Hrushevskyi* was suppressed in favour of Bolshevik Ukrainians like *Matvii Iavorsky*, 4 who tended to present Ukrainian history as either vile 'bourgeois nationalisms' or off shoots of Russian Bolshevism. To do this, they misrepresented Ukrainian nationalists and socialists and got rid of knowledge which indicated otherwise. The objective of *korenizatsiia* was not to develop national culture, but to make the communist ideology of Soviet imperialism appear native (*rodnaia*), intimate (*blizkaia*), popular (*narodnaia*), and comprehensible (*poniatnaia*) to the nationalities, hence the phrase 'national in form, socialist in content."

"Are you not a socialist?" the spectre asked. "Why would you be so critical of your own ideology?"

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"Imperialism is imperialism," the maiden answered. "Whether it be for capitalist, socialist, <sup>38</sup> Russian, or American ideologies, imperialism is fundamentally the same. Any ideology can become imperialistic if hijacked by the right people."

"So, you really think Muslims are like the Soviet Ukrainians?" the spectre scoffed.

"Yes. *Korenizatsiia* imploded by 1933 when it became apparent that national identities were incompatible with a centralized, and therefore Russified, Soviet party and state.<sup>39</sup> But in the Islamic world, imperial homophobia lasted so long that orthodox Muslims gradually felt like puritanical Victorian worldviews were native to Islam.<sup>40</sup> This persists today because the laws and attitudes from the colonial era are adaptable enough to be maintained after independence.<sup>41</sup> It is literally 'Islam in form, Victorian in content."

"You exaggerate," the demon dismissed.

"The only difference is that *korenizatsiia* was tied too much to anti-nationalist communism and the policies of the Soviet state. But for issues that don't involve accusations of 'bourgeois nationalism,' the hijacking of culture can be much more subtle and persistent. Instead of just imposing a Victorian culture onto Muslims, British imperialism can elevate Victorian values and punish things that do not align with Victorian values, and if it is done long enough, then colonized cultures, perhaps just the upper echelons of colonized cultures, will bend over backwards to appease Victorian values, forgetting and reinterpreting aspects of their past to maintain their prestige and survival in a colonized world. We have been so focused on leaving no ambiguity for *bid'a* to proliferate, but what if the hatred of ambiguity itself is *bid'a* born from the insecurities all of us acquired through colonization."

The spectre chuckled. "You just love making baseless speculation. You are too far gone in your ideology. It is pointless to even reason with you. Do you not see how these insane ideas

threaten Islam with fitna?"

"Threaten?" the maiden asked. "This should benefit Islam. Modern intersex Muslims can at least occupy a third gender identity and retain more autonomy over their bodies. That is already a worthy reason to remember the history that we were compelled to forget. But even for transgender Muslims, remembering the history may bear fruit as we learn to live with the ambiguities of this world without the need to flatten it all with a simple <code>halāl-harām</code> dichotomy."

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"You are the one who read these books and articles," the spectre said to me. "Yet you have not spoken a word. Do you have any convictions of your own?"

Do I have any convictions of my own?

"I do not know," I said after a long pause. "I just-I just do not know the things I do not know."

This left both dissatisfied.

"What if I did not do enough research?" I continued. "What if there is something we missed that one of the scholars from Saudi Arabia or Pakistan could say to tear down our arguments like a stack of cards?"

"Not enough research?" the maiden asked with barely contained rage. "What is there left to research?"

"The Arabic," the spectre asserted. "How do you know these Western scholars did not corrupt the *fiqh* with their translations and interpretations? If you found and read what the jurists wrote in Arabic to see if it matched Gesink's description more than Sanders', your case would be robust. But until then, all you have done is provide a literature review, nothing more."

"This is a trick," the maiden exclaimed. "Every time we get a real argument to advocate for ourselves, you say something like 'We need a PhD. Only then can we think about trying to advocate for ourselves.' Isn't it too convenient for us to be too suicidal for grad school precisely because we never advocated for ourselves in the first place? It's as if you want to keep us stuck in a catch-22 for the rest of our lives."

"Tough shit," the spectre said. "There are a billion Muslims out there who would reject everything you said as Western *bid* 'a. A person with humility would not so arrogantly ignore their concerns. A person with humility would acquire the expertise needed to convince these people beyond a shadow of a doubt. If they could not do that, then a person with humility would accept that they lack the expertise to correct their far more knowledgeable superiors. That is what separates those with integrity from those without."

"There is no humility in that," the maiden spat. "There is no integrity in that. Imagine if someone said 'I'll believe climate change is real or not after I get a PhD in climatology. Until then, I'll keep driving my hummer to my job in the Alberta oil sands because my superiors told me to.' This is nothing more than cowardice."

#### Cowardice.

"Am I a coward?" I asked. "I doubt my eyes, my ears, my thoughts, my memories, my hopes, my dreams. I thought this was what righteous people did. I thought this held me accountable, preventing me from being blinded by pride. I thought this allowed me to listen to people, understand them, and empathize with their worldview. I thought it was the only thing I could contribute to this world of divisive polarization. I thought it was the only thing I could contribute to this world where people bend reality itself in the name of their identities. It slowly destroyed my life, but surely that sacrifice was worth something, right?"

The silence was deafening.

"Is there even a point asking that?" I asked.

"Perhaps there was," the spectre admitted. "But that time is long gone. Just look at all that you have done in this world." The spectre shifted, casting Him in shadow except for His head, emphasizing the sutures carved into His skin.

The door was still unlocked by the time I returned. The shards of bloody teeth were gone without a trace, but no sounds could be heard inside.

I took a tentative step forward, silent as a mouse. I rounded the corner to the living room, scanning it inch by inch as my head swiveled.

He was slumped on a prayer mat.

His chest did not rise.

Nearby was His phone, but He did not complete the call.

His *thawb* was cut apart by the paramedics. So too did they cut skin and bone. By the time they stopped the brain bleed, my sins were set in stone.

The next day I noticed one attempted call from His phone to mine, probably an hour after I entered the abyss. What was the abyss like for Him? I massaged my temples to keep them from bursting.

"We don't have to be defined by those we hurt," the maiden said.

"You will always be defined by those you hurt," the spectre answered.

"We can get help. Therapy, medication, maybe an intervention."

"A waste," I said.

"It will be scary," the maiden admitted. "But we can't let it deter us."

"None of them knows how to deal with someone like us. None of them will be there for

someone like us. None of them will care about someone like us. They will only delay the inevitable."

The spectre nodded along in agreement.

Al-Maqtul

"What if you're wrong?" the maiden asked. "What if there are people like us out there who will be there for us, if only we asked for help? It might seem too late, but we won't feel like that forever. One day, we won't feel like a failure. We'll like our own skin again. We'll find a family that accepts us. We'll look forward to the future."

"And how many will we kill until then?" I demanded. "No amount of *estradiol* (estrogen/feminizing hormone), *spironolactone* (anti-androgen hormone), or *progesterone* (women's health hormone that might be controversial in trans healthcare)<sup>42</sup> will fix a rotten core."

"He is already a paranoid racist freak," the spectre added. "You have a disgusting nature. He sees attackers in every shadow. You fetishize other cultures because of your needy personality. He hates everyone who reminds him of himself, and he especially despises everyone who reminds him of His culture. The time for 'found families' has long passed."

"Only God knows the future," the maiden insisted.

But the *shayāṭīn's* whispers took root deep in my soul, their terrifying faces of laughter and disgust hollowing me out. By then, the spectre had grown monstrous, covering the entire room in darkness. It was a pillar of obsidian with long arms and two coals set in a face of wrinkled leather. It grew a beard of black cables and a shaved skull with large protruding fractures.

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"Look at what you really are," His voice commanded.

The maiden protested, but I obeyed.

In the window's reflection, I saw a face. From its chin grew a dense black goatee. Above that, chapped lips and a moustache. Above that, a wide nose. From the sides, sprouting sideburns haphazardly covered cheeks in tangles of hair. After that were great big monkey ears and a shaved skull with a barely noticeable hairline inching upwards day by day.

"No more cheating," He commanded.

"Look into your eyes."

With so many reflective surfaces in the modern world, one develops a technique. Squinting helps. So too does relying on the periphery to make out its features. Doing this allowed me to feel like I was looking at someone else. But do not look into the eyes. Preferably, do not even notice the eyes. The eyes were the windows of the soul, and the reminder that your soul existed in something that was not you was unsettling.

The maiden protested a second time, but I obeyed.

There were bags under the eyes despite all my extra hours asleep. Lines were etched into the forehead, and the skin was dry and bumpy. The eyebrows were big and bushy, not quite long enough to become a unibrow. Next to the temples and upper cheeks were red blisters. A long time ago, she used to clean our face with an exfoliator containing hyaluronic acid, but ever since I stopped, a constant stream of stinging pimples dotted the face, and I did not care.

"Into. Your. Eyes."

The maiden protested a third time, but I obeyed.

The black abyss within the iris did not belong to anything that could love. It was both me and not me, the eyes of a demon wearing my skin. I thought it would rip the skin off, revealing scales or horns or flames. Yet the act continued. Blinking when I blinked. Breathing when I

breathed. Opening my mouth revealed the demon's crooked broken teeth and grey gums. Bushy eyebrows mimicked shame and disgust, and its eyes matched those emotions 99%. It was just that 1% which made it all wrong. The demon knew it would torment me most with endless ambiguity.

The maiden said something, but He drowned her out.

"Imagine yourself as a woman."

The demon warped in the mirror. Hair falling. Skin smoothing. Face rounding. But it belonged to someone else. I tried to imagine a face with round glasses and long, shiny hair tied back in a ponytail. I tried a face with lipstick, *kuḥl* (eyeliner), and eyeshadow. Thick, plucked, thin, and shaved eyebrows. Straight hair, curly hair, wavy hair. Braids, buns, bobs, and bangs. Earrings, necklaces, piercings. Hijabs, niqabs, scarves, hair clips, hats. An endless array of faces, the maiden's face included, morphing between one another.

"Can you imagine yourself as any of them?"

"No."

It was just an imitation. It would be nothing more than an insult for someone like me to wear their faces.

"Do not let Him decide what we are," the maiden implored, but her voice was so distant.

"Anything is better than the face of a demon."

"And yet you cannot imagine a better life than that of a demon," He stated, shutting her out. "And you know why."

She said something, but I could not hear. Everything was blurring, every sound muffling. My knees buckled, the blood leaving my head. Again, amid all the spinning, that Memory bubbled up, and the splitting headache returned, vengeful.

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"You cannot escape the choice you made," He stated. "You know what you are. You know where you belong. You know that you will always be a man who does not deserve a better life."

The demon in the mirror swirled and swirled as the world spun around the black coals, the jinn and shayātīn cackling all around. Only great evil could be held in those eyes. Evil which destroyed love. Evil which must burn for all eternity.

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"What did you do to my son?" He cried.

"Get out," the demon in the mirror told Him. "Get out before you get yourself killed."

He pushed the demon in the mirror.

"What did you do to my son?" He cried once more.

The demon in the mirror had enough, pushing Him into a wall. He yelled, punching the demon while screaming.

The demon opened the door, but He slammed His entire body against it.

His tongue spat poison, and He received it in return.

A tangle of arms and legs pushed and pulled a second time, straining against the door.

One of His arms wrapped around its neck, and He pulled down to unbalance it.

"What did you do to my son?" He cried, over and over, the prefrontal cortex of the demon straining, and straining against the rest of its mind.

It wrenched His arm from its neck, but He kept flailing and scratching and grabbing while the demon strained to force itself back upright. Under the motions, it grew so distant, the pressure building against its temples relentlessly.

The demon's mind snapped, to a degree beyond what one thought was possible.

Instead of pulling up, the demon sent all its weight down with Him into the floor, knocking the wind out of Him. This loosened His grip, so the demon wrenched itself out of His arms and leapt up while He groaned.

It opened the door, glancing back. After so many decades of living with His overwhelming personality, He became a force of nature, as immutable as the sun and moon. But now He was deflated, heaving with sobs, like a god reduced to a child.

"If you learned to shut up for once in your worthless life, you could have kept these delusions, and I would have been free to die in a ditch once you were dead."

He did not register the cruelty He was subjected to, His mind in a daze. The demon noticed blood from where He bit His tongue, and the sight of it made the demon's migraine hammer into its brain with every heartbeat.

"Your own wife died because she married someone like you," the demon spat. "She feared for her life because of your anger. She told me that she needed to get a divorce, and then she hugged me and cried, and said she would do it once I graduated from university and got a job."

"And do you know what I did?" the demon asked Him.

"Nothing."

It balled its hands into tight fists, wound like springs, trying keep it all in, but that only made its hatred worse.

"I did not say a single word when she cried in front of me. I convinced myself that she was just being hysterical. You never hit me. I never saw you hit her. If she just put her pride aside and listened to you like I did, then everything would have been fine. Besides, you were so much smarter and older than us, so you naturally made the best decisions. You were socially

savvy, you were better at saving money, you even cooked better than her. Only a stupid irrational idiot would disobey your expertise, I thought. I knew back then that I was just regurgitating the misogyny of your degenerate culture, but when the both of you went back to normal, I decided that whatever I did would just ruin everything."

The demon's fists turned white as snow, the migraine crushing its brain like a hydraulic press. The demon was in too much pain to care about how its criticisms of His "degenerate culture" was just the hypermasculine breadwinner expectations instilled in Bengali men, a course correction to racist Victorian and Pakistani caricatures. It was in too much pain to care about how the women among His people do not simply accept the "tradition" but fight for greater freedoms so that they may find lives that are worth living. It was in too much pain to even care about how His people have diverse gender identities like the *hijṛā*. If only the demon could look beyond its prejudice against *bid'a*.

"What does the child do when the father fights with the mother?" the demon yelled.

"Does the child prioritize the <code>hadith</code> commanding it to obey the mother<sup>46</sup> or the <code>hadith</code> commanding it to obey the father?<sup>47</sup> Every choice I made would have been wrong,<sup>48</sup> so I thought about killing myself to at least let you end your pathetic excuse of a marriage. And yet I failed her once more."

The demon paced in a circle while flicking its thumbs to dissipate the hatred. It knew that it was committing evil with every word coming out of its mouth. But that only made its hatred worse, causing every expletive in existence to spew forth.

"You reminded me back then that 'health is most important,' as if I cared about avoiding a heart attack."

The demon was compelled to cave in His skull, barely keeping that murderous hatred at

bay. The veins in its neck bulged with tensing muscles.

"You were always a worthless *munāfiq* (hypocrite, false believer). The moment either of us stopped taking your shit, you would say it was our fault for making you angry in the first place. That was always the worthless subhuman excuse made by your disgusting people. And yet you still dared to proclaim that health is most important when she was buried."

He had many lectures on the importance of health. When He was reminded that religion takes precedence over health, He pointed to all the old men in the *masjid* whose failing bodies made them incapable of praying *şalāh* without a chair. They could not even prostate to their own Lord anymore, that was how vital health is for a Muslim. He then pointed to His own health. Every time He woke with a stiff or aching back. Every time His skin tore while building a cupboard because His skin became paper-thin with age. Every time He scraped His skin, and it never fully healed. Every time He had a health scare because of His smoking. He once got a lung biopsy, and when the results came back negative, He was so gracious to His Lord that He quit smoking entirely. Imagine being so scared straight by the prospect of lung cancer that an addiction of more than forty years could disappear in six months, so long after several teeth were lost to the addiction. Then He developed an obsession with eating plants and reducing His carbs, and the lectures on health grew frequent.

And yet, every time He enthusiastically waxed poetics about the value of eggplants or probiotic goat's milk, a brick in the wall separating the demon from the rest of the world was removed. For the demon knew that all this poetry would disappear the moment He was approached with something as small as permitting the shaving of a beard. He would call this crazy, that this craziness could not be diagnosed as gender dysphoria, that this craziness was caused by listening to *waswas*, and that He clearly was not the source of this *waswas*. Even when

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confronted with the scholarship on Muslims from previous centuries. He would decide that they are just  $Sh\bar{i}$  or that they just represented the  $madh\bar{a}hib$  (the schools of thought within fiqh), which must be corrupted by centuries of bid a. Even when confronted with the costs of conversion therapy. He would decide that anyone who committed suicide was not a real Muslim, so He never had to be responsible for pushing them off the cliff. After all, if it is not a literal cliff, then it is not a sin. That is why He will never realize that we killed my mom. The mind-numbing insanity to say not so much as 'uff' shattered one more brick, and once the demon was released, it would never care about how His excuses did not reflect the entirety of His culture.

It punched the drywall, creating a hole covering its hand in dust.

He raised His arms up to His head, anticipating a strike, and the demon clicked its tongue. It thought of proclaiming that at least it did not excuse its own anger but realized that this too would be an excuse, which only made its hatred worse.

"You come from a people who think yelling and screaming is 'natural.' You come from a people who proclaim that families are like eggs boiling in a pot—conflict is 'inevitable,' and therefore never your fault. This world would be a much better place if people were executed for using insane analogies to ignore reality. But even in your degenerate analogies, you pretend to be above violence. 'The boiling eggs may bump into each other, but nobody wants the eggs to crack and spill the yolk.' And so, your subhuman social system survives another day."

"But I know what your people are really like. You always made it our duty to deescalate. You push and push and push, and if we did not swallow our hatred, your kind will always break your one rule. And when you do, you will, like the rest of your worthless people, like the rest of your worthless gender, proclaim that everything you want to do is permitted in the *Qur'ān*. <sup>49</sup>
Then you will look at us with a face daring us to call you the worst of the *munāfiqūn* (plural of

*munāfiq*), knowing that we know that you will make us regret it while proclaiming that everything you did was permitted in the *Qur ʾān*."<sup>50</sup>

The demon saw a look of terror in His eyes, but its heart was hardened long ago.

Hardened enough for the hypocrisy in its actions to not do anything but make its hatred worse.

Hardened enough to not care about how it was making (plausible but uncharitable) speculations regarding what He and the men in His culture would do if they hit their families. Hardened enough to not care about how toxic masculinity was a problem of cultural socialization that is in the process of being excised in various cultures. Hardened enough to not care about how everything it criticized in His people could be found all around the world, from Kolkata to Beijing. From Jakarta to Moscow. From Amsterdam to Cape Town. From Abuja to Brasília to Toronto. Hardened enough to not care about anything.

He curled into a ball, heaving with sobs. This only incensed the demon's cruelty, feeling in its bones every time He screamed at His worthless child to stop crying. Every time He screamed, His subhuman child cried even more, which made Him scream even more, over and over, until all the memories blended into a mass of unending hate so strong that the memories themselves disintegrated into ash.

The demon cursed and cursed and cursed the only person left who loved the person the demon used to be. It let loose every racist insult made against Bengalis, both those from Muslims and those from non-Muslims. It demeaned His culture and people in every way possible. It cursed His skin, His voice, His face, His clothes, His songs, His language, His dances, and His food. It cursed Him for being a disgusting Bengali and it cursed Him for being an Arabized *Salafist*. It cursed Him for being a stupid Muslim and it cursed Him for being a disgrace to Islam. But none of these contradictions made the demon's hatred subside.

It punched the doorframe to prevent it from creating more holes. It punched and punched the metal until its hands shook with lightning rods of pain, and then it punched some more.

Only when it felt bloody bruises which forced out cold tears with every movement of its fingers, did its hatred finally fizzle out, along with every other sensation. Love, hatred, anger, sadness, fear, joy, gratitude, guilt, shame, regret, envy, admiration, hope. Everything in this world and the next was completely aborted from the demon's soul. It all meant nothing now.

The demon went back into my room and took the leather coat, tapping the knife inside to make sure. It did not take the keys or a phone, reducing the odds that it would be overtaken by what it considered cowardice. It slammed the door shut behind it, caring not what happened to Him.

The spinning slowed, just enough for the full moon to peer into the demon's rotten soul beyond the hospital window.

Its creaking crumbling body heaved with every laboured breath, but its eyes remained as dry as a desert.

It took out the knife again, which glinted in the moonlight.

The path was set in stone now

CLON.

Ch 8 Notes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Muḥammad ibn Ismā ʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ju ʿfī Al-Bukhārī, "(28) Chapter: The advent of the Prophet (saws)," In Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī, Book 63, Ḥadīth 76, accessed Sep 11, 2024, <a href="https://sunnah.com/Bukhārī/63/76">https://sunnah.com/Bukhārī/63/76</a>.; Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī, Book 63, Ḥadīth 127–128.; Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī, Book 64, Ḥadīth 481.; Abū al-Ḥusayn 'Asākir ad-Dīn Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj ibn Muslim, "(32) Chapter: The Age Of The Prophet (SAW) When He Died," In Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Book 43, Ḥadīth 149–151, accessed Sep 11, 2024, <a href="https://sunnah.com/muslim/43/149-151">https://sunnah.com/muslim/43/149-151</a>.; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Book 43, Ḥadīth 154–157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī, Book 64, Ḥadīth 480.; Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī, Book 66, Ḥadīth 1.; Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī, Book 61, Ḥadīth 56–57.; Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī, Book 77, Ḥadīth 117.; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Book 43, Ḥadīth 147–148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Book 43, Ḥadīth 158–162.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sahīh Muslim, Book 43, Hadīth 152–153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Note that *The Prophet* received his first revelation around 610 CE, began publicly preaching to the people of Mecca in 613 CE, migrated from Mecca to Madinah in 622 CE (the *hijra/hijrah*), and died in 632 CE. So, the *hādīth* describing how he lived in Mecca for thirteen years and then in Madinah for ten years are correct. The ones giving ten for Mecca might just be starting from the beginning of his public preaching. The ones that give fifteen years or said that he died at sixty-five however just seem to be an error in narration or an error in a Ṣaḥāba's memory. In any case, the general sense remains that regardless of their authenticity, one can't simply quote a random, singular *ḥādīth* to justify a belief. One must at least reference all the relevant *hādīth* alongside the historical context to account for imperfections or omissions: William Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 22, 36, 66, 83–84, 90–91. 228–229.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Paula Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body: Hermaphrodites in Medieval Islamic Law," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, ed. Beth Baron and Nikki Keddie (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 88–89, <a href="https://doi.org/10.12987/9780300157468-007">https://doi.org/10.12987/9780300157468-007</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> This is a reference to the "separate but equal" doctrine. It legalized racial segregation laws in the US without technically breaking the fourteenth amendment of the American constitution, which prohibits states from denying anybody equal legal protections. The logic behind gendered segregation in Muslim societies can sometimes reek of a similarly reactive mental gymnastic. In both cases, the acknowledgement of separation while insisting on a (nebulously) equal status between people sounds like a rationalization of a preexisting inequality after the fact. Many may disagree with this comparison of course: Adam Volle, "Separate but equal," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, June 26, 2024, <a href="https://www.britannica.com/topic/separate-but-equal">https://www.britannica.com/topic/separate-but-equal</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body," p. 74–75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body," p. 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Legal manuals for slavery, slave-buying manuals, and travel narratives about slave markets in the Islamic world provide an example of how idealistic de jure descriptions may differ from realistic de facto descriptions of what happens on the ground (though one must also acknowledge that these accounts are also prone to bias through things like sensationalism): Hannah Barker, "Purchasing a Slave in Fourteenth-Century Cairo: Ibn al-Akfānī's Book of Observation and Inspection in the Examination of Slaves," *Mamluk Studies Review* 19 (2016): 1–23, https://doi.org/10.6082/M1V122XM.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body," p. 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body," p. 91–92n14; Indira Falk Gesink, "Intersex Bodies in Premodern Islamic Discourse: Complicating the Binary," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 14, 2 (2018): p. 154–155, <a href="https://doi.org/10.1215/15525864-6680205">https://doi.org/10.1215/15525864-6680205</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Gesink, "Complicating the Binary," p. 154, 156–158, 170–171.; Indira Falk Gesink, "Intersex in Islamic Medicine, Law, and Activism," In *The Routledge Handbook of Islam and Gender*, 1st ed., p. 116, 124, 127 (Routledge, 2021), <a href="https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351256568-7">https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351256568-7</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body," p. 77–79; Gesink, "Complicating the Binary," p. 154–156, 170.; Gesink, "Intersex in Islamic Medicine, Law, and Activism," p. 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Mehrdad Alipour, "The Nexus Between Gender-Confirming Surgery and Illness: Legal-Hermeneutical Examinations of Four Islamic *Fatwās*," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 18, 3 (2022): p. 362, <a href="https://doi.org/10.1215/15525864-10022132">https://doi.org/10.1215/15525864-10022132</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body," p. 78–79.; Gesink, "Complicating the Binary," p. 156–157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body," p. 78.; Gesink, "Complicating the Binary," p. 157, 159–160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Note that according to Gesink, "Mushkil is difficult to translate without attributing to it connotations that are

concrete in English but latent in Arabic." Translations include "problematic," "troublemaker," "ambiguous," "mixed," "ungendered" or "real." Gesink prefers "a complex of male and female" (complex here is used in the same way one would use it when describing a "bureaucratic complex" or "legal complex"): Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body," p. 79.; Gesink, "Complicating the Binary," p. 156.; Gesink, "Intersex in Islamic Medicine, Law, and Activism," p. 119.

- <sup>19</sup> Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body," p. 78.; Gesink, "Intersex in Islamic Medicine, Law, and Activism," p. 120-121, 123.
- <sup>20</sup> Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body," p. 79.
- <sup>21</sup> Gesink, "Complicating the Binary," p. 157.; Gesink, "Intersex in Islamic Medicine, Law, and Activism," p. 116.
- <sup>22</sup> Gesink, "Complicating the Binary," p. 160.; Gesink, "Intersex in Islamic Medicine, Law, and Activism," p. 116,
- <sup>23</sup> Gesink, "Complicating the Binary," p. 157.; Gesink, "Intersex in Islamic Medicine, Law, and Activism," p. 117.
- <sup>24</sup> Gesink, "Complicating the Binary," p. 160–163.; Gesink, "Intersex in Islamic Medicine, Law, and Activism," p. 116-117, 121-122.
- <sup>25</sup> Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body," p. 79–82.; Gesink, "Complicating the Binary," p. 158, 164–165.; Gesink, "Intersex in Islamic Medicine, Law, and Activism," p. 118, 124.
- <sup>26</sup> Note that in the *hajj*, pilgrims must be in a sacred state (*iḥrām*) before entering Mecca. For the state of *iḥrām*, men are obligated to wear two unstitched cloths and are forbidden from wearing anything else. Women do not wear this since it would reveal their 'awrah. Thus, jurists can be in a conundrum when it comes to a khunthā. If God considered them fundamentally male in that instance, then the women's clothes would defy the  $ihr\bar{a}m$ , and if God considered them fundamentally female in that instance, then the male *ihrām* would violate the 'awrah, so jurists ended up either being undecided or picking their poison: Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body," p. 82-85.; Gesink, "Complicating the Binary," p. 159, 165-166.; Gesink, "Intersex in Islamic Medicine, Law, and Activism," p. 118, 124. <sup>27</sup> Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body," p. 75, 81, 88.
- <sup>28</sup> Sanders, "Gendering the Ungendered Body," p. 166.; Gesink, "Intersex in Islamic Medicine, Law, and Activism," p. 116, 118, 124, 127.
- <sup>29</sup> Note that Gesink describes one incident of this prosecution. I am not sure if it was just this one case or if there were other cases of similar anti-Ṣūfī polemics: Gesink, "Complicating the Binary," p. 167-170.; Gesink, "Intersex in Islamic Medicine, Law, and Activism," p. 125-126.
- <sup>30</sup> Gesink, "Complicating the Binary," p. 170–171.; Gesink, "Intersex in Islamic Medicine, Law, and Activism," p. 118.
- <sup>31</sup> Willem van Schendel, A History of Bangladesh, second edition (Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 309.
- <sup>32</sup> Note that the Soviet Republics had sub-national units where minorities could have representation in their own language and culture. Soviet Ukraine for example had various nationality districts dedicated to Russian, German, Jewish, Bulgarian, Greek, and Polish minority populations. I did not know such a method of dealing with minority groups could exist. I always presumed that an ethnic minority could only have de facto control over the state apparatus in a district just from people in that minority (hopefully) organizing well enough to win electoral representation for one of their candidates in that distract, or if the state bureaucracy pushed ethnic minority bureaucrats into working for districts where their ethnic minority is significant. Otherwise, the ethnic/national majority was in complete control over the state apparatus. I did not think a state could intentionally dedicate subdistricts to minorities. For a map of these districts in Soviet Ukraine and a description of these districts, along with descriptions of policies towards ethnic minorities in Soviet Ukraine, See: Map 38 (on page 614) of Paul R. Magocsi, Ch 45 "Other Peoples in Soviet Ukraine," In A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples, 2nd (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), p. 611–625.
- <sup>33</sup> Terry Martin, The Affirmative Action Empire Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017), p. 3, 9–13.
- <sup>34</sup> James E. Mace, Communism and the Dilemmas of National Liberation: National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, 1918-1933 (Cambridge, Mass: Distributed by Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., 1983), p. 232, 234-236, 245.
- <sup>35</sup> Mace, *National Communism in Soviet Ukraine*, p. 234–235, 242–244, 250–252.
- <sup>36</sup> Mace, National Communism in Soviet Ukraine, p. 232, 256-263.
- <sup>37</sup> Martin. The Affirmative Action Empire, p. 5, 12.
- <sup>38</sup> Note that one could get into a long argument about what separates socialism from communism and socialist activists from the Soviet Union. It is too long and not relevant, so it is going to be ignored.

<sup>39</sup> Jurij Borys, *The Sovietization of Ukraine 1917-1923: The Communist Doctrine and Practice of National Self-Determination* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980), p. 51.; Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire*, p. 13, 345–350, 356–357.; Richard Pipes, *The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism, 1917-1923* (New York: Atheneum, 1964), p. 96–97, 280–281, 282–287, 290–293.

<sup>40</sup> Shafiqa Ahmadi, "Islam and Homosexuality: Religious Dogma, Colonial Rule, and the Quest for Belonging," *Journal of Civil Rights and Economic Development* 26, no. 3 (2012): p. 550, 555–558, <a href="https://scholarship.law.stjohns.edu/jcred/vol26/iss3/2">https://scholarship.law.stjohns.edu/jcred/vol26/iss3/2</a>.; Nur Amali Ibrahim, "Homophobic Muslims: Emerging Trends in Multireligious Singapore," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 58, no. 4 (2016): p. 957–958, 965–968 <a href="https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417516000499">https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417516000499</a>.; Sequareah Sayles, "That Awkward Moment When...: An Explanation of How Britain Made the Modern Arab World Homophobic," *Honors Theses* (Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College: University of Mississippi, 2015), p. 4–5, 11–13, 15–17, 52–58,

- <sup>41</sup> Ahmadi, "Religious Dogma," p. 558–559, 562.; Ibrahim, "Homophobic Muslims," p. 955, 959–963, 969–980.; Sayles, "Britain Made the Modern Arab World Homophobic," p. 24–31, 37, 58–66.
- <sup>42</sup> Jerilynn C. Prior, "Progesterone Is Important for Transgender Women's Therapy—Applying Evidence for the Benefits of Progesterone in Ciswomen," *The Journal of Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism* 104, no. 4 (2019): 1181–1186, <a href="https://doi.org/10.1210/jc.2018-01777">https://doi.org/10.1210/jc.2018-01777</a>.; Sean J. Iwamoto, Guy T'Sjoen, Joshua D. Safer, Caroline J. Davidge-Pitts, Margaret E. Wierman, Michele B. Glodowski, and Micol S. Rothman, "Letter to the Editor: 'Progesterone Is Important for Transgender Women's Therapy—Applying Evidence for the Benefits of Progesterone in Ciswomen," *The Journal of Clinical Endocrinology and Metabolism* 104, no. 8 (2019): 3127–28, <a href="https://doi.org/10.1210/jc.2019-00249">https://doi.org/10.1210/jc.2019-00249</a>.; Jerilynn C. Prior, "Response to Letter to the Editor: 'Progesterone Is Important for Transgender Women's Therapy—Applying Evidence for the Benefits of Progesterone in Ciswomen," *The Journal of Clinical Endocrinology and Metabolism* 104, no. 8 (2019): 3129–30, <a href="https://doi.org/10.1210/jc.2019-00524">https://doi.org/10.1210/jc.2019-00524</a>.
- <sup>43</sup> Schendel, A History of Bangladesh, p. 304–307.

https://egrove.olemiss.edu/hon thesis/847.

- <sup>44</sup> Schendel, A History of Bangladesh, p. 300–304.
- <sup>45</sup> For analysis of how *hijṛās* engage with Muslim identity, See: Gayatri Reddy, Ch 5 "We Are All Musalmans Now": Religious Practice, Positionality, and Hijraj/Muslim Identification," In *With Respect to Sex: Negotiating Hijra Identity in South India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), p. 99–120.
- <sup>46</sup> Note that all the following *ḥadīth* are from *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*: *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī*, Book 78, *Ḥadīth* 2.; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Book 45, *Ḥadīth* 1–4.
- <sup>47</sup> Note that none of the following <code>hadīth</code> are from <code>Ṣaḥīḥ</code> <code>Al-Bukhārī</code> or <code>Ṣaḥīḥ</code> <code>Muslim: Sunan Abū Dāwūd</code>, Book 24, <code>Ḥadīth 114–115.;</code> <code>Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā At-Tirmidhī,"</code> (3) Chapter: What Has Been About The Virtue Of Pleasing One's Parents," In <code>Jami</code> 'At-Tirmidhi, Book 27, <code>Ḥadīth 4</code>, accessed Sep 11, 2024, <a href="https://sunnah.com/tirmidhi/27/4">https://sunnah.com/tirmidhi/27/4</a>.; <code>Sunan Ibn Mājah</code>, Book 12, <code>Ḥadīth 154–156.;</code> <code>Sunan Ibn Mājah</code>, Book 33, <code>Ḥadīth 7–8.;</code> <code>Sunan Ibn Mājah</code>, Book 9, <code>Ḥadīth 154–156.</code>
- <sup>48</sup> Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn Shu ayb *Al-Nasā* 'ī, "(69) Chapter: The Al-Mannan: One Who Reminds People Of What He Has Given Them," In *Sunan al-Nasā* 'ī, Book 23, *Ḥadīth* 128, accessed Sep 11, 2024, <a href="https://sunnah.com/nasai/23/128">https://sunnah.com/nasai/23/128</a>.; *Jami* \*At-Tirmidhi, Book 78, *Ḥadīth* 6–8.; *Jami* \*At-Tirmidhi, Book 37, Ḥadīth 97.; *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī*, Book 78, *Ḥadīth* 4.; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Book 1, *Ḥadīth* 165–170.
- <sup>49</sup> For an analysis of what Muslim scholars, both premodern and postmodern, say about domestic violence (from a second-generation Pakistani-Canadian Muslim's perspective), See: Ayesha Chaudhry's 2013 book *Domestic Violence and the Islamic Tradition*: Al-Hilali and Khan, *Qur'ān*, 4:34; Ayesha S. Chaudhry, *Domestic Violence and the Islamic Tradition*, 1<sup>st</sup> edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199640164.001.0001.
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